2: Stirling--94-95 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro -1
116, 317, 323

"Just as the men when in the house spin or weave when they have nothing else to do, so the women are likely to keep themselves busy in making pottery. Considerable care is taken in the locating of outcrops of suitable potters' clay. Selected lumps of rough clay wrapped in bark are placed in baskets and carried to the jivaría. The work of preparing and refining the clay is done within the house. A chunk of clay is placed on a flat slab of wood and pounded with a heavy stone. Impurities, such as small stones and other foreign substances, are picked out by hand. This refined clay is then mixed with a small amount of ash and moistened, after which it is stacked in piles on another wooden slab. One pile is a stiff olive green clay which is used to furnish the main body of the pot; the other pile consists of a rather sloppy yellow clay which is used for thinning. The latter is added to the heavy clay until the proper texture is obtained.

The mixture of the two clays is kneaded together by the potter in the proper proportions and placed in a third pile which is used for building up the pot. Squatting or sitting on the floor, the woman picks up a handful of this clay and, between the palms of the hands or on top of the thigh, she rolls it into a rope 2 or 3 feet in length (pl. 24, a, b). The pot is then built up on a flat slab of wood by a coiling process. As the sides of the vessel rise, each rope of clay is carried around the rim with the right hand, the left hand pinching it flat so as to make it adhere to the coil below (pl. 24, c). When thus pinched into place, the potter from time to time dips a gourd shell into water and with it smooths

down the coil, both on the inside and outside surfaces (pl. 24, d).

After the bowl has been completed it is set inside the house to dry in the shade. At this stage the bowl is sometimes decorated with simple geometric incised designs in the form of wavy or zigzag bands. As a rule, a considerable number of vessels are made and [95] dried at the same time so that a dozen or so pots may be fired simultaneously. There is a variety of shapes, but the vessels may be classified into three types according to use---deep cooking vessels, large storage jars for nijimanche, and small bowls for drinking or eating purposes.

After the drying has been completed preparations are made for firing. Two good-sized logs are laid parallel on the ground about a foot apart. Smaller cross-logs are then put in position, leaving spaces between, of a proper size to admit the vessels which are to be fired, the crosspieces supporting the sides of each vessel when in position. Then smaller pieces of dry wood, preferably rotten wood and dry bark, are piled around and over the bowls (fig. 4). The entire mass is thickly covered with palm leaves and the pile ignited. The evenness of the firing depends largely upon the care with which the fuel has been arranged and the slowness with which it burns.

The firing being completed and the vessels cooled and wiped off, they are ready for painting. The storage vessels and drinking bowls to be used for nijimanche are usually painted a solid red color on the outside by means of achiote mixed with caraña or gum copal. The drinking bowls are painted red on the outside and the inside surface is painted

with designs which are geometric in character or which represent mythologic episodes in the career of Mika, who is the patron of pottery vessels. The Aguaruna cover the interior of their vessels with a white slip on which the designs are painted in red and black, the black color being obtained from charcoal. Caraña is used as a varnish to finish the inside of the bowls.

The clay which is used for pottery making is called mieway. Small drinking vessels are called pininga and when decorated are known as pininga agajmo. The large storage jars, which sometimes have a capacity of 10 gallons, are called mika. Various names are applied to distinguish the many smaller varieties of pottery vessels according to their shape and special use. (For typical forms see pl. 35.)"

26: Brüning--67 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 252, 263, 317

I noticed that all dishes are prepared without salt. But when the cooked food is served, a piece of salt is always served with it. In the case of a liquid dish, the Indian places the salt between two fingers and stirs it into the dish, so that a little of the salt can dissolve. Otherwise they bring the salt to the mouth from time to time, or they lick on it. Salt is a very scarce commodity on Aguaruna territory. They obtain it from the upper Marañón where there are said to be some salty brooks. The salt remains as a dirty ash-colored sediment when they laboriously boil the water down in large pots. In Aguaruna language salt is called wig.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the Jívaro.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase land obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsas*.[28] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsas* reached the outside world at about this time.[29]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1850. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[30] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time. Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) set on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

rules out the possibility of their obtaining Western-manufactured goods by entering into any labor relationship with whites.

The Achuara also rely upon the Jívaro to supply them with much of their salt. The Achuara have access to a distant rock salt deposit of inferior quality on the Río Marañon far to the south in Peru, but prefer to trade with the Jívaro to secure the purer salt evaporated from two springs in the Cordillera de Cutucú, one near the upper Río Mangosiza and the other near the Río Yaupi (see Map 2 and Plate 18).

This system of native traders is composed of pairs of men normally living one to two days' walk apart who visit each other every two and a half to four months. The visiting trading partner, if he comes from the west, i.e., from the white Jívaro frontier, brings machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. If from the east, he primarily carries Achuara-made products.

These pairs of men, or trading partners, formalize their essentially contractual relationship with a ritual and thereafter address one another in the diminutive as "little friend," i.e., *amiči*. While the term *amigri* is the third person possessive form of *amigü*, from the Spanish word *amigo*, the development and meaning of the relationship is distinctly native.[4] Two men normally decide to become "friends" only after a series of informal visits, during which they may have exchanged small gifts. When they agree to enter into the formalized trading partnership, each spends two or more months collecting goods that are scarce in his future partner's neighborhood. Then one visits the house of the other; a cloth is spread on the dirt floor and the gifts of both parties are placed in two piles on the cloth. Each man kneels

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

137
317
258
438

18. The saline spring from which almost all of the salt used by the interior Jivaro is obtained. Those living within a day or two of the spring boil the water in pots and trade the resultant salt to more distant neighborhoods (near the upper Río Mangosiza in the eastern Cordillera de Cutucú, 1956–57).

/p. 138-D/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading